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THE
Commonweal
A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature, and the Arts
THIRTY-SEVENTH YEAR OF PUBLICATION

week by week

TALLYING THE RESULTS

MORE THAN a week after Election Day, late returns are still trickling in, and periodic bulletins are still adjusting the totals of votes cast for the candidates. There is even talk of recounts and fraud, from spokesmen of the losing party, naturally, and grumbling that the results of this extraordinarily close vote—at last count, 50.2 per cent for Kennedy; 49.8 per cent for Nixon—are "inconclusive."

None of this is very significant, however. The late, late returns will have no appreciable effect on the results we now have; the calls for recounts and the fraud charges will in all likelihood dwindle down to the trifling and would not change the outcome even if they do not. It has been an exhausting, drawn-out ordeal, unquestionably, but the election is really over, and John F. Kennedy is really the next President of the United States. Furthermore, on many counts the election must be considered one of the most important political events of the century.

For one thing, the shattering of the "unwritten law" against a Roman Catholic President is an achievement of tremendous significance. And the way it was done is itself of major importance. For it cannot be said that Mr. Kennedy was elected because he is a Catholic or in spite of the fact that he is a Catholic. Study of the voting suggests to us that the President-elect was hurt by his religion in some predominantly Protestant areas, but in other predominantly Protestant areas his religion seemed to make no difference at all to the voters. The returns also indicate, although perhaps less clearly, that in some predominantly Catholic areas the Senator was helped by his religion, while in other similar areas his religion was apparently not a factor of any great consequence.

To be able to say this is a momentous thing, in our still developing, still unfinished, pluralistic society. It is a tribute to the maturity and wisdom of our political parties, their candidates, the men of good will who spoke up within the Protestant and Jewish communities and, finally and principally, to the maturity and wisdom of the American people as a whole. Moreover, it is a bright omen for the working out, in time, of the religious and racial suspicions and animosities that still divide us. In that sense, the election of John F. Kennedy represents both an achievement and a promise.

EVEN APART from "the religious issue," however, the election of 1960 marks the first step in a profound change-over in the posture and tone of our government. It has been said that the programs Mr. Kennedy has in mind for his Administration will have to be "compromised" because of the absence of any clear "mandate" from the people in support of them. More practically, it has been pointed out that the conservative South, which turned out to be vital to the Democratic success, will act as a restrainer against "radical" Presidential ideas, and that "moderate" Lyndon Johnson, stronger than ever as a result of his keeping the South in the Democratic column, will exert his influence in the same direction. The necessity of dealing with the Southern Democratic and Republican coalition, it is argued, will cause the new President to modify sharply the intentions he expressed during the campaign. In short, this prediction runs, the "new frontiers" are going to look very much like the old ones. But again we disagree.

It would be foolish to ignore the fact that politics is the art of the possible, and that the conservative forces in the new Congress will make themselves felt to the limit of their ability. But this is a long way from saying that Mr. Kennedy

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will have to alter the very nature of his political convictions, or that he could if he wanted to. The President is the President, and no one knows this better than Mr. Kennedy himself, whether his plurality is one vote or many millions of votes.

Once a Chief Executive has been chosen, it is his duty to fulfill the responsibilities of his office, and Senator Kennedy's understanding of these responsibilities has been a cardinal point in his campaign. The one thing he has made utterly clear is his belief that the President of the United States must exercise vigorous and emphatic leadership. It is absurd, we think, to say that Mr. Kennedy should or would or could be a President according to anybody's lights but his own.

Furthermore, it strikes us as political madness to think that the nation would be well served by the abandonment of a whole plan of action in favor of a half a plan, on the grounds that moderation is a virtue in all things. A blend of the policies of President Eisenhower, Mr. Nixon and President-elect Kennedy, if one could imagine such a thing, would not be a happy compromise: it would be a monstrosity.

We believe, therefore, that for Senator Kennedy to surrender his determination to "make America move again" is neither necessary nor desirable. More important, we are convinced that it will not happen. Close election or no, resurgent conservatives or no, the first one hundred days of the Kennedy Administration are sure to bring swift and dramatic action in all the areas the Senator singled out in the campaign.

MR. NGO OF VIETNAM

FOR FIVE YEARS now President Ngo Dinh Diem has been hanging on in South Vietnam in the face of recurring crises and the gloomiest predictions of the world outside. His authority within his own country has been challenged repeatedly by the "sects" and by the Communists. In the last six months the terrorist activities of the latter have been severely stepped up. Mr. Ngo has found it necessary to set up his own brand of farm communes: isolated farmers, who are vulnerable to terrorist raids, have gone to live in agricultural communities in which neighbors band together for their common self-defense.

Mr. Ngo, with the help of American aid, has met a baffling accumulation of economic, financial, social, political and military problems. He has made his decisions in his own way. And now he has again demonstrated his great personal courage during the latest attempt at a military coup in Saigon. With most key points in the national capital taken over and his palace besieged by paratroops, the Vietnamese President refused to surrender. He engaged the leaders of the attacking force in such lengthy negotiations that the loyal troops he had summoned by radio from outside the city were able to reach the scene and put down the revolt.

Just as Mr. Ngo's bravery is without question, so are his patriotism, his unyielding anti-Communism and his unsullied personal integrity. But in recent months there has been growing restiveness under his authoritarian rule. His suppression of all political opposition and denial of democratic liberties, on the grounds of necessity, and the tight hold which he and his family exercise over all governmental matters, have intensified popular oppositon. The latest revolt may have enabled President Ngo temporarily to consolidate his rule still further, but it might also give him pause. His country's resistance to Communism is dependent upon wholehearted public support for the Vietnamese government. The latest crisis appears to supply an unparalleled opportunity for Mr. Ngo's friendly American advisers vehemently to urge upon him some real concessions to the popular will.

VOICES ON THE RIGHT

THE GOLDWATER Republicans are predictably indefatigable. This year several states were still to be counted when they began their postmortem, an analysis which always concludes with the same refrain: "A 'me too' Republican lost again." In support of this contention, they cite two facts: the Republicans carried Senator Goldwater's Arizona; the liberal Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller was unable to deliver New York for the G.O.P. On this basis, they are already talking about a 1964 Republican ticket headed by Barry Goldwater; the Vice Presidential candidate has not been specified, but we suppose it would be Dean Manion or one of the other elders of the Right.

The Democrats would probably like nothing better than to run against a Barry Goldwater ticket. But before such an eventuality comes to pass, we imagine the non-Goldwater Republicans will put forward a few facts and raise a question or two of their own.

For a start, they might ask what happened to the great conservative vote Senator Goldwater was supposed to be amassing for Vice President Nixon

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in the South. Florida and Virginia would probably have gone to the Republicans if Senator Goldwater had never stirred out of Arizona. And while Mr. Nixon was losing, the liberal Senator Case of New Jersey won, in a state where Robert Morris, another darling of conservative Republicans, was previously badly beaten. Senator Saltonstall won in Senator Kennedy's own state, Margaret Chase Smith won, John Sherman Cooper won—liberal Republicans all, who managed to turn back Democratic tides. Vice President Nixon could not carry New York—but anyone who thinks a Goldwater Republican could have done half so well is living in a dream world.

As we see it, the Republicans already suffer from not being a truly national party. If the Goldwater Republicans had their way, the G.O.P. would win big in half a dozen states—and give up every chance of winning a national election.

T.V.A. BONDS ON THE MARKET

IF THE Tennessee Valley Authority, established a quarter century ago, continues as a sort of solitary boast, at least it has greatly expanded its operations in the course of its existence. The T.V.A. is the largest single generator and distributor of electric power in this country, servicing seven states—not to mention such accomplishments as flood control and the subsidiary activities of promoting navigation, developing fertilizers, aiding local industry, agriculture and forestry, all integral parts of sound regional development.

Since 1953 the federal agency has itself financed the expansion of its power-generating facilities. On November 15 an issue of T.V.A. bonds was put up for public bidding for the first time in history. The interest of the American financial community was indicated by the expectation that syndicates of larger New York and Chicago banks would compete to buy up this first T.V.A. issue. Here is recognition indeed, as an institution dubbed only a few years ago as "creeping socialism," is now regarded as a sound private investment by the financial powers that be.

FINALE ON A PASTORAL?

WHEN THE Puerto Rican bishops issued a pastoral letter forbidding Catholics to vote for the Popular Democratic party of Governor Luis Munoz Marin, we discussed their action at some length, saying that it seemed to us "to confuse more than clarify the complex relationship between religion and politics." The following week we noted newspaper dispatches from the island which said that after the pastoral was issued the Governor's campaign for a fourth term began to arouse enthusiasm among the voters to a degree that had previously been lacking, as he vigorously championed "separation of Church and State." In that second editorial we reiterated our own views and suggested that "even those who are prepared to defend the Puerto Rican pastoral in theory must be somewhat taken aback at such indications of the practical consequences."

Since those two editorials were written, several things happened. For one, Archbishop James P. Davis of San Juan defended the pastoral letter while at Notre Dame for a speech. For another, the three bishops together issued a second and even stronger letter, which was also read from every pulpit in Puerto Rico. Lastly, the election in Puerto Rico was held. All that remains, then, is to note the outcome of the balloting on the island, for the record, and for the benefit of those readers who might have missed the results.

In Puerto Rico's voting, Governor Munoz Marin won all but one of the island's eighty-three precincts, returning to the Governorship and carrying to victory with him two-thirds of the Legislature. In winning reelection, the Governor won fifty-eight per cent of the popular vote, a drop of four per cent from his sixty-two per cent four years ago—a decline amounting to half of the gain made by the Republican-Statehood party, whose proportion of the vote this time rose from twenty-four to thirty-two per cent. As for the Christian Action party favored by the bishops, it was the election's outstanding casualty, polling only six and one-half per cent of the vote. Under the system in effect in Puerto Rico, this means that the group no longer qualifies as a recognized political party and that it is therefore ineligible to receive the financial aid granted to all parties which receive a minimum of ten per cent of the total vote.

Just what those who are not Catholics make of the entire Puerto Rican affair we are not sure—although we have rather strong suspicions. The kindest comment we have heard came from a professor in a Protestant seminary who in discussing Senator Kennedy's chances remarked about Puerto Rico: "One thing I'll say about you Catholics—you run a very loose ship!" To which we could only reply that he did not know the half of it, and let it go at that.

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The Modernity of Scholasticism

Do not certain elements that are often considered to be "medieval" possess a special relevance for the present?

by JOSEF PIEPER

WHOEVER desires to learn not "how things used to be," but rather how things stand here and now with the matters which have always been and will always be worth thinking about—that person asks about the contemporaneity of the Middle Ages.

I am not proposing an inquiry into the "survival" of medieval concepts and notions in present-day thinking. Such survivals are always cropping up, in a thousand different ways, and frequently go entirely unnoticed; the pasts of all epochs and all regions of the world, and thus also of the Middle Ages, are always present and continuously operative in some fashion. This is one of the basic phenomena of mankind's history.

Neither am I referring to the subject of medieval philosophy with which, not surprisingly, the philosophy of all ages has dealt. Rather, I am concerned with those structural elements of medieval philosophizing which we have discovered to be "specifically medieval," and which we might imagine would have fallen into disuse and opprobrium with the end of that era itself. I wonder whether this seemingly "medieval" matter may not have a special contemporaneity, whether it may not be highly relevant to the present-day philosopher.

The picture of medieval philosophy is composed out of the following elements: The young peoples of the North and West of Europe undertook by methodical study to acquire and assimilate pagan and Christian antiquity's stock of tradition. The sheltered preserve in which the intellectual life of the period was able to function was the area of the Church (monastery, cathedral school, papal-sponsored university). The practice of philosophy, in which for the most part only monks and clerics engaged, started out from theological questions and with theological aims. In this very special sense it was "Christian philosophy." Given all these factors, does it not seem improbable that there should be anything contemporary about the philosophy of the Middle Ages?

Let us begin, then, with what seems most improbable. Obviously, the situation in which tradition was assimilated by the mere process of learning is a thing of the past. The attempt to arrest the flux of thought by strict enforcement of the teachings of authority—in times when men's direct experience with the world was bringing in a host of new discoveries, whose vitality far surpassed that of the old material—precisely this spelled the end of the Middle Ages. There can be no disagreement on this point.

NEVERTHELESS, a word must be said here concerning the experiment with the "Great Books" which has been undertaken at American centers of learning. Here is a curriculum based on certain books which represent the cultural "heritage": their authors are Homer, Plato, Aristotle, Virgil, Plotinus, Augustine, St. Thomas, Dante, Shakespeare, Kant, Hegel, Goethe, Darwin, Dostoevsky, and Sigmund Freud. It is possible to quarrel with this or that aspect of the project. Nevertheless this attempt, carried out with the earnestness of great open-mindedness, sprang from a conviction that the young continent could come into possession of its rightful intellectual inheritance only if that inheritance were made teachable and learnable in this fashion. This is not so very different from the impulse and necessity which produced the schoolmasterly enterprise of medieval scholasticism. And not only the problems but the "problematic," which is to say the dubious, aspects of the matter are largely identical. Thus, there is the question of translation (in the broadest sense)—unavoidable under the circumstances, but nevertheless posing its own special difficulties. There is the question of the selection of the material, and the inevitable omissions. There is the question of how much simplifica-

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Josef Pieper is the author of *Silence of St. Thomas* and other books. This is an excerpt from *Scholasticism: Personalities and Problems of Medieval Philosophy*, published this month. Copyright © 1960 by Pantheon Books Inc.

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tion is legitimate, and where it is going too far. The possibly too facile determination to take the questionable aspects into the bargain, in the face of the simple vital necessity, likewise seems much the same.

It might be argued, to be sure, that while this is not uninteresting, the parallel is at bottom little more than a matter of chance. I think otherwise. Through such a program those American students who may be "majoring" in other subjects do, after all, become acquainted more or less at first hand, though in translation, with both the *Nichomachean Ethics* and the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius, with large parts of St. Thomas' *Summa theologica* and with Pascal's *Pensées*. And when one comes in contact with these students, one is aware of a perceptible difference. Returning to our European universities, one feels clearly that such "scholasticism" would profit us as well. It offers one of the very few possibilities of keeping at all recognizable and present to the minds of the young the "fund of wisdom" on which man lives spiritually. That fund, that heritage, or whatever we may choose to call it, has grown so huge—by a natural process, not at all because it has been wantonly accumulated—that its entirety can no longer be commanded by anyone.

A further question must be posed here. There is still another stock of tradition which has become accessible to us, first as "conquerors," too. I am speaking of the non-European, above all the Far Eastern, cultures. Can this vast wealth of knowledge of man and of philosophical interpretation of reality be assimilated—if at all—in any other than a "scholastic" manner? Hitherto scarcely any such attempt has been made, except by specialists. No doubt there are many reasons for that. Might not one of these reasons be, however, that we have lost our hold on the technique of "learning"? Still another reason may be that, before such assimilation is undertaken, there must first be the insight that there is a task here, one beyond mere historical observation: a task which carries its own obligation and offers its own reward. Perhaps that insight is granted only to one who is capable of seeing truth in the world, wherever he encounters it, as part of the One Divine Logos.

LET US consider the second feature of medieval scholasticism—its setting within the area of the Church. That, above all, seems clearly over and done with. And in fact it was a symbolic event when William of Ockham fled from the Minorite cloister to the German imperial court. For he was traversing the same path, but in a reverse direction, as was traversed at the beginning of the epoch by Cassiodorus when he abandoned his political office at the court of the Gothic king and retired to the cloister. From William of Ockham's time on, then, philosophy once more took up its residence in the larger "breathing space" of the "world." Today we can scarcely imagine any other state of affairs.

And yet—do we not find ourselves somewhat caught in the modern world of work—faced with the increasing politicalization of the academic realm and the ominous shrinking of inner and outer opportunities for public discourse, and especially for genuine debate? Where shall we seek the "free area" in which alone *theoria* can thrive (and by *theoria* we mean concern, limited by no practical [political, economic, technical, sectarian] considerations, with "truth and nothing else")? We begin to understand that Plato's Academy had been a *thiasos,* a religious association assembling for regular sacrificial worship. Does this have any bearing on our own time?

The question, which medieval philosophy answered by entering into the four walls of the monastery within which, note here, was room not only for the Bible and the Church Fathers, but also for Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Seneca and the great Arabs—this question must evidently be answered anew in every period. I find it indicative of the difficulty of a modern answer that a man like T. S. Eliot should declare straight out: a strengthening of monastic life is desirable today, so that within the sheltered preserve of the cloister, "uncontaminated by the deluge of barbarism outside," a certain number of people may receive a philosophical education which will be "something more than education for a place in the Civil Service, or for technical efficiency, or for social or public success." This seems to me to be a thoroughly utopian proposal—and presumably its author has no illusions about that. Still, what more "modern" solution offers itself?

We come to the last-named and no longer purely formal structural element: that medieval philosophy was a "Christian philosophy," not only practiced by monks and clerics, but also determined in its subject matter by theology. Here we are dealing with a rather difficult problem, but also with the crucial one.

The subject has two branches: the structure of Christian philosophy in general, and the precedence of theological questions within this structure. Let us consider these things in terms of the "contemporaneity of the Middle Ages."

To examine the framework of "Christian philosophy," we must first accept a basic premise. This is the premise that in Christ man received an intelligence which relates to the whole of the universe and of existence, and therefore by definition concerns anyone who engages in philosophizing—and which, moreover, is valid by virtue of a superhuman claim to truth.

Should anyone reject this premise, he must in consistency regard "Christian philosophy," however one defines it, as meaningless. The whole of medieval philosophy must remain inaccessible to him, as far as its sole underlying motif is concerned. It cannot help but strike him as a perhaps amazing but in the final analysis

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senseless expenditure of formalistic ingenuity—even though he may recognize it as ever so comprehensible "historically" and even pay it large tribute.

ON THE other hand, suppose that the premise is granted. Then the task of "conjunction" comes to the fore—the question, at least, in what way the *believed* intelligence concerning the world and existence can be made to accord with the *known* intelligence concerning that same world and that same human existence as it is revealed to men's eyes. If man is desirous of existing out of the fulness and out of the unchecked energies of the spiritual impulse—which means existing in the face of absolutely everything that comes within his scope—then he is bound at least to attempt the conjunction of *fides* and *ratio*. Granted the premise that he accepts both, what is believed and what is known, as true, that is to say, as offering real intelligence concerning reality—then this is a task which cannot be evaded.

The conjunction of *fides* and *ratio* involves two operations: first, the *interpretation* of the divine message as it greets man in the shape of image, symbol, and event, and also in the lineaments of a particular culture. To be binding or even merely credible, this interpretation, which is the real business of theology, must bring into play the total body of truth known to man. The second operation would be to bring this interpretation into accord with the whole of natural knowledge of the world and existence. This was the supreme theme of philosophical and theological efforts between Boethius and Duns Scotus. Certain efforts toward a solution proved to be, even during the Middle Ages themselves, unrealizable. But for the Christian engaged in philosophy today, the great attempts have not lost their validity as paradigms. By this we mean that these were realizations which we must cherish, despite the fact that they cannot be simply imitated or repeated. They are thus partly "contemporary" and partly "outmoded."

Outmoded beyond recall, it would seem, are the *Summae*. To be sure, even Thomas Aquinas spoke of the unfathomableness of all reality. Nevertheless his attitude strikes us as that of a man who surveys a bright room full of immeasurable but nevertheless well-ordered treasures; whereas our relationship to the world is rather that of a man let down into the depths of the sea in a bathysphere, who knows himself surrounded by mysteries, by illimitable darkness, and is able to discern only what lies within the range of his searchlight. For us, there is no longer any attaining of a closed and rounded view of the world, in any legitimate way. The wealth of available knowledge of the natural world has become too boundless. Nor would it do for either the scientist, the philosopher, or the theologian to attempt to create a premature unity out of multiplicity by the mere addition of a "Christian aspect."

Yet herein lies the peculiarly modern task. By relinquishing any attempt to close off the image of reality, by deliberately practicing an openness of vision—theology toward science and science toward theology (not on the basis of any special act of reverence, but on the basis of a disciplined perception of how little is as yet actually knowable), but also by letting theology participate in the ever-advancing investigation of the world and of man or, to use a word from theological terminology: of creation—by this explicit renunciation the image of the fundamentally unitary world might be saved and the view of the Whole kept free from all obstructions.

HERE is the point to recall that the greatest *Summa* of the Middle Ages not only remained uncompleted—not just by chance, but because its author, Thomas Aquinas, wished it so—but also that it was meant as an elementary textbook "for the instruction of beginners"—*ad eruditionem incipientium*. Which means that even had it been completed it would not have pretended to ultimate conclusiveness.

The "ultimate" Thomas is rather to be found in his *Quaestiones disputatae*. The title can be rendered as "Questions examined in the course of debate." The *Quaestiones* were the fruit of that type of discussion whose guiding principle is not so much to overcome the opponent or to reach any "conclusion" as mutually to explore a question as far as possible, to carve a path to knowledge opening out to infinity. One might well say that the universality of the High Middle Ages was achieved less in the individual performances of the great *Summae* than in this *recherche collective de la vérité*, that is, in the "disputations" which barred no subject and no partner to the debate. None at all, not even the non-Christians!

There is the mistaken idea that medieval philosophy was an "internal Christian" affair limited to a circle of intimates and initiates. To be sure, one of the ground rules of medieval disputation was that a debate on things whose fundaments were not acknowledged by all the partners would be impossible and hopeless. But Thomas cites one fundament which is recognized by everyone and which made it possible to debate even with "Mohammedans and pagans": "natural reason." And he himself led this debate—in the wholly unpolemical book later so wrongly entitled *Summa against the Pagans*. "Natural reason," however, as he meant it, is not primarily the dialectic adroitness to vanquish another in debate, but rather the strength to "listen to" everything one encounters.

It should be fairly clear that such an exemplary style of conjoining faith and reason would be eminently suitable for our own time.

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The schools of Eastern Europe are undergoing drastic educational changes

Producing 'Communist Man'

by THOMAS WEYR

EASTERN Europe is in the throes of a sweeping educational reform which the Soviet bloc leaders hope will turn schools into machines for mass-producing the "Communist man." The reform, now in its second year and broadly based on the Russian model in use since the mid-1950's, is to give physical work and Marxist-Leninist indoctrination equal status with traditional school subjects. Once the reform is completed, the "new" schools being introduced throughout the bloc would produce "educated workers" able to step from the classroom to the workbench without so much as changing overalls. They would be men as steeped in correct Communist philosophy as in the details of operating the machines they work with.

Under this plan, the love of manual labor is to be instilled in everyone, including university students. At least a year of "productive" work is already required for admission to college and the time students must spend at such occupations is likely to increase and to continue as part of their studies as well. Some grammar and secondary schools in Eastern Europe have even begun experimenting with plans to have pupils spend three days in the factory and three days in the classroom each week. One day spent at the workbench or on the farm is now mandatory in all the satellites but Poland, and even there the rumblings of the "polytechnical revolution" can be heard.

In hard economic terms the reform means raising a trained industrial work force with no expense for the State which runs the nation's industry. In fact, the government is a double winner. It gets thousands of hours of free labor performed during school or on a "voluntary" basis after class by the nation's youth, and it makes substantial savings by dispensing with on-the-job training later on, since the fifteen to eighteen-year olds have acquired diverse industrial and mechanical skills in school.

But the rewards are even bigger in ideological terms, and therefore greater stress is put on these ideological goals. Fundamentally, the reform program is designed to perpetuate the "dictatorship of the proletariat" by delivering to the State an undiminished stream of workers and thus artificially keeping the working class alive. It is an artifice because Marx's concept of the working class is becoming a myth.

Rising prosperity, even behind the Iron Curtain, remains coupled with a strong desire to climb up the social ladder. Much to the Communists' chagrin, workers and peasants are eager to see their children move up in the world, into the professional or managerial classes or at least into an office job. A series of public opinion polls taken in the satellites over the last two years told the story in dramatic terms. In sample after sample, parents wanted a better life for their children, and their offspring concurred despite Communist upbringing. Jobs "useful in building Communism"—mining, skilled labor, etc.—ran a poor last to the glamor professions like medicine, engineering and even humanities. Religion and belief in a life after death, it has been found, continue to clutter up the minds of young people; so do other remnants of the "bourgeois" mentality. The class struggle, as the Communists see it, is a constant one, and no letup is in sight unless the present educational reform succeeds radically.

IT IS not proving an easy job, however. Despite clear ideological goals and grandiose plans for achieving them, there is much confusion and uncertainty in practice. How much physical labor can a growing child stand? To what extent will work in factories hurt general education and thus reduce the level of Communist achievements? How will it affect the quality of high school and university graduates? Can the shortage of teachers—already severe and made more so by the need to train new ones specialized in polytechnical education—be overcome? Added to these difficulties are the more "normal" ones of ideological opposition, which in Eastern Europe crop up as regularly as crab grass, necessitating periodic shake-ups in the doubtfully loyal educated classes.

Since Eastern Europe is not Russia, and Communism has not been in power there as long as in the Soviet Union, the regional differences stand out starkly. Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia—all have long educational histories reaching far back into the Middle

Mr. Weyr, appearing in The Commonweal for the second time, sends his article from Vienna.

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Ages. Prague's Charles University is the oldest in Central Europe and was for centuries the hub of German academic life. These are traditions that die hard, as the Communists are finding out. And they have not yet come up with an answer to the perplexed and angry parent who wants to know why his son needs a "Gymnasium Matura" (the concepts of the nineteenth century and the double monarchy have lingered on with almost incredible tenacity) in order to pick onions or operate a lathe in a shop.

Yet despite the many unanswered questions, the Communists are pushing ahead doggedly, changing their plans to suit national needs as they go along, but never losing sight of their chief ideological goal—using the working class to stay in power.

A rough blueprint of the reform from first grade through graduate school looks something like the following in most of the satellites. It is based on the Czech model, at present one of the most advanced in Eastern Europe.

Pupils in grades one through six will concentrate on the traditional subjects. But party directives insist that "pupils are to be guided in the handicraft lessons toward the habit of work; they will work with paper, cardboard, modeling clay, fabrics, wood and metal." Grades seven through nine are to feature more advanced work in school shops or in factories. Boys are to "become acquainted with the hand lathe and the fundamental processes of electromotion and with work in the fields of breeding and cultivation." Starting in the tenth grade, children go out and work in factories, getting to know "the basic processes of production in one of the local enterprises," either two days every week or for a prolonged period, depending on the needs of the plant involved. In the last year of high school they will get "a closer theoretical and practical acquaintance with the specialized production branch of their choice." Students will be expected to obtain an apprenticeship certificate at the same time that they receive their diploma.

Moving up to the college level will be possible only for those who have done well in school *and* in the factory. "The pupils who pass both the matriculation and the apprenticeship examinations will have priority in admission to the universities," the directives state. But this by itself is not enough. Students are expected to spend increasingly long periods of time working before entering universities and to continue such work after they have begun their studies. Hard and fast rules have not yet been evolved on how to handle this phase. They are made up for individual cases, schools and subjects. Medical students, for example, should have worked for a year either in hospitals as nurses or within the administrative apparatus of the national health service which administers all medical activities. Private practice has virtually been eliminated, with stiff fines set for those doctors who treat patients on their own. There are even cases where medical students and their professors have been required to spend six weeks a year working in a factory to learn a production process. Why and how this should help them become better doctors remains a perpetual puzzle that is never explained.

Law schools in Czechoslovakia are mulling over an idea to ban all full-time students and instead accept only those who already hold an outside job. In other countries "active contribution to socialist construction" is a prerequisite for all candidates for the degree of doctor of science. Hungary is considering a scheme to train "practical" engineers in the factories themselves. These would rank between full-fledged engineers and simple technicians, with a three-year course of study needed.

THE COMMUNISTS already look back on rich experiences in the polytechnical field. At first the scheme was tried out in selected schools for a year or two and then expanded to a greater number of institutions. By 1962 Hungary and Czechoslovakia hope to have their reform completed to the extent that the bulk of their schools will follow a polytechnical curriculum. Bulgaria and Romania lag behind, principally because their bureaucrats are a good deal less efficient than those in the more advanced satellites. And in the deep Balkans, general lassitude and a hangover of "dolce far niente" continue a problem of some importance.

Yet this experience has been valuable especially in pointing to the flaws in the system that must be eliminated before it can become a viable instrument. One important example is the seemingly natural hostility between school and factory. Schools must conclude contracts with individual plants to handle the training of a set number of children during certain hours each day. Until the organization is very much further advanced than at present, this causes unlimited scheduling difficulties and a rubbing of raw nerves on both sides. Often the satellite press has complained that foremen and skilled workers don't bother with the pupil or that they expect him to take a hammer into a corner and play with it until the "production" period is over. Those factory workers who are willing to enter into the spirit of the thing lack teaching skills.

Apparently the Communists felt at first that a twelve-year-old boy could be taught as easily as a grown man, and with no change in methods. In effect, educational planners are now faced with the problem of sending grease-stained mechanics to a teachers' college for a quick course in how to handle a group of unruly sixth graders much more interested in raising the roof than in studying the intricacies of a welding machine. And university students are not happy about having to work

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in a plant without pay while sixteen-year-olds just out of grammar school are drawing reasonably good apprentice's wages.

Indoctrination in the correct principles of Marxism-Leninism has caused the Communists an equally large number of headaches. How is the intricate mumbo-jumbo of this dogma to be made intelligible to children? The problem is compounded by Communists' almost legendary distaste for simplificaton. If anything can be said ponderously rather than simply by the leaders, it will be. Naturally, this love for the complex has drifted into school textbooks. A Communist newspaper complained recently that too much dogma was learned by rote and rattled off by children who did not have the faintest idea of what the words meant. The newspaper cited this example from a history textbook: "Monopoly capitalism was created by imperialism and from it was derived finance capital." How is a fourteen-year-old, the paper asked, expected to make sense out of that?

On the university level the problems immediately become more complex and more dangerous to the Communist regime. It is all very well to aim for the education of engineers and doctors who can double as instructors in Marxism-Leninism, but it does little good if the dogma fails to touch the "inner man." In other words, the Communists are waking up to the need of dealing with the substance of depth psychology. In their terminology, this is the "inner class struggle." The class enemy in the "subconscious" is especially insidious and hard to defeat: the Communist theoreticians concede this by calling for redoubled efforts to war on the opposing forces tugging at the mind of man. Nationalism, idealism, anti-Semitism and other spiritual inheritances of the bourgeoisie must be eradicated, they urge repeatedly.

BUT HOW? At this point the new educational theory becomes fuzzy. Obviously you cannot lock up a whole university generation, nor can you prevent their expression of ideas they have been taught. Unfortunately for the Communist viewpoint, some changes are often made in them as they pass through a young man's head. Why, for example, are socialism and Christianity so irreconcilable? On the surface Christ's teachings have much in common with the aims of Marxism. At least a number of students at Budapest University seem to think so and do not shy away from discussing their ideas within hearing of Party officials and newspapermen.

The newspapers that report on these sentiments—and the reports are frequent and monotonous—do not have an answer either, except to repeat that the "vestiges" must be removed by making "greater efforts." One suggestion that seems to be gaining ground would train teachers in Marxism-Leninism first, then worry about the students. The bulk of teachers now active received their own training before the Communists came to power, and their upbringing shows. One scandalized newspaper reported that teachers lecture on Marxism-Leninism after having gone to church that morning.

Another theory holds that once distaste of manual labor is overcome, the student will be so integrated into the Communist system that it could not occur to him to oppose it. Work, therefore, becomes a kind of political therapy for those faint of heart. It would be useful, too, the Communists believe, in countering the heresy that the intelligentsia are the vanguard of society, a view prevalent at Budapest University. This remains a school to be watched, incidentally. Despite stringent selection of students and tight political control, students there are regularly taken to task in the press for expression of radical ideas, even if these have not yet broken the bounds of what is acceptable to Janos Kadar's middle-of-the-road brand of Communism.

Progress differs among the satellites, of course. East Germany probably has gone farthest in making factory and farm labor part of all children's education, but at the same time Pankow is hamstrung by an educational tradition of extreme rigidity that makes difficult the kind of flexible approach needed by a scheme so new and full of booby-traps as this one. At the other extreme, the Poles are the most reluctant to follow suit. Polish intellectuals are the most humanistically inclined in Eastern Europe and still frown on engineers and technicians as somehow a lower breed of man. The campaign to speed development of a technical intelligentsia in Poland, therefore, corresponds to concrete needs of the economy. But whereas only a year ago the Polish Minister of Education said the reform would make a "fetish of factory labor" and destroy true learning, the idea of such labor for young people has won wide support within the government today.

In the meantime, it remains to be seen if the satellite Communists are not paying too high a price in sacrificing the intangible qualities of education. Or if by misjudging these or playing them down they are not risking a repetition of the outbursts of the political opposition they fear most, the opposition from within.

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Passage of the "compromise" bill for medical care for the aged satisfied almost no one

Health, Welfare and Apathy

by EDWARD T. CHASE

THE MOST anticlimactic aftermath of the anticlimactic postconvention Congressional session has been the apathetic reactions of the states to the controversial medical care bill for the aged. Only six have risen to the paltry bait offered. The bill provides Federal aid in the amount of $202 millions to the states to help them in paying for medical care for the 2,400,000 needy aged on public assistance rolls, plus others over sixty-five not officially paupers but able to pass a means test showing need of help to meet their medical bills.

Everybody but President Eisenhower purports to be unhappy with the bill. Even Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Flemming and Vice President Nixon, who fought against more liberal measures, now term the legislation "a step, but only a step, forward." It went through literally at the eleventh hour of the rump Congressional session as the culmination of the celebrated Forand Bill debate. The issue—first whether the Federal government would participate in the financing of medical care and second whether this would be accomplished through the present Social Security system or by annual appropriations from the general funds in the Treasury—was generally rated the hottest domestic political issue of the year. It still is. It figured prominently in the debates between the rival Presidential contenders. Democratic Party leadership, Senator Kennedy, organized labor, university professors, sociologists, welfare organization leaders and the elderly have vowed to make a proper bill, construed as one bringing medical aid under Social Security, the first order of business for the new Congress.

Who cares? Well, the sixteen million elderly and their umpteen million children care. Only about forty-five percent of the "senior citizens," to use the politicians' euphemism, have *any* kind of health insurance. According to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, around eighty per cent of them have incomes of under $2,000 annually and most of these get less than $1,000, while, concurrently, their medical expenditures, according to government surveys, run about ninety per cent higher than the rest of the country. Organized labor cares. It would like to realize its collective bargaining gains in terms of wage benefits, cold cash, not fringe benefits in which the worker has to kick in something, too. In general, the more government takes over welfare financing, the better labor likes it.

The doctors care. At least in their organized sentiment, if not as individuals. They fancy, probably correctly, that making medical care part of Social Security will involve Federal supervision of standards and also accelerate the trend toward some dimly imagined government "takeover" of their profession. The insurance industry shares these fears. It hates the notion of the government preempting even that part of their market in which, almost by definition, they can't make a profit. Like organized medicine, they have converted the argument into a fight of freedom lovers against socialists. This charges them up psychologically and makes the profit motive seem a noble sentiment. And Governor Rockefeller of New York, who invigorated the Republican convention and the party's platform in a manner that historians are likely to interpret as quixotic—Mr. Rockefeller cares. He doesn't want his own state to participate in the weak program the Eisenhower Administration passed. He says the program is bad since it involves a means test and because it isn't made part of the Social Security law, which is the heart of the Democrats' defeated proposal.

"Frankly, I do not regard it as any real solution to the great human problem of assuring that the nation's senior citizens have adequate health insurance," says the Governor of the weak bill that got his party's blessing. "I am convinced that the rising public awareness of this problem of caring for our aged will produce further action in this area of medical care." By this he means the new Congressional session convening in January. "I feel," went on Rockefeller, "that the program (as part of Social Security) should provide, at its outset, for hospitalization, nursing-home care and visiting nurse services, with additional benefits to be added as experience may indicate their desirability and feasibility. Subsequently it should be found possible to cover broader forms of organized home-care services, the cost of certain drugs, surgery and possibly

Mr. Chase writes frequently on social and cultural questions for this and other magazines.

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other physician services. Early diagnostic services should be added to the benefits as soon as possible, to help minimize instances of hospitalization."

THE GOVERNOR'S is a very far-reaching proposal going way beyond the modest features of the basic Forand Bill that started the current phase of the health insurance controversy. It was all the more remarkable in its timing—in the midst of the campaign, when the issue had begun to bedevil Mr. Nixon considerably.

In view of the Governor's interest and the general let-down over the bill that passed, it is instructive to review the history of that bill. The belated test in the Senate was over what was called the Anderson amendment. This was the Democrats' attempt to tie medical care for the aged in with the 1960 amendments to the Social Security Law. It was one of the prime measures Kennedy was plugging for in the rump session. What happened was that it was narrowly defeated by the Southern-Democrat-Republican coalition, the worthies who have demonstrated the grave weaknesses of the seniority and committee system in our Congress, and what curious creatures the two allegedly discrete major political parties really are. Four votes made the difference. Had Kennedy inveigled four Southern Democrats (or liberal Republicans, for that matter) to go along with him, he'd have carried the day. But as a reading of the *Congressional Record* reveals, the explicit threat of a veto by President Eisenhower killed the bill. Now that Kennedy is elected there is no doubt such legislation will pass under the prod of his Presidential prestige.

Close students of the matter might have predicted what in fact happened. Eisenhower long ago had promised the American Medical Association he would never sign a health insurance bill tied to Social Security. He was told such a measure meant "compulsory" medical care, and "compulsory" somehow equated vaguely to socialism. "Compulsory" now has come to be the stigma invariably to be attached to Democratic proposals not only by Eisenhower but by Nixon, Flemming and their speechwriters.

What does it mean? It means that a program tied to Social Security is compulsory in the sense that this tax on employees and employers is, like all other taxes, mandatory. But so also is the Republican scheme. The money is derived from equally *compulsory* taxes, namely, the income taxes that nourish the Treasury's general funds that must be used to finance the program. So to stigmatize the Social Security approach as "compulsory" with the implication that the alternative is somehow "optional" is nonsense. It is worse. It is sophistry. For the obvious intent is to imply that "compulsion," some kind of "socialistic" compulsion, would enter into the doctor-patient medical relationship itself as the result of such legislation. But the legislation deals strictly with financing and not with medical service itself. It is interesting that Mr. Nixon persisted in characterizing the Democrats' (and Governor Rockefeller's) approach as compulsory. He is a well-informed man in this area. He knew what he was doing.

PERHAPS the most unsavory development of all, in connection with the health bill for the aged, was the appearance at the height of the Senate debate of a survey purporting to show that ninety per cent of the elderly were against such a measure and that most had ample funds to meet their medical needs. The American Medical Association publicized this survey gleefully throughout the land, not pausing for an instant to try to reconcile its findings with the voluminous governmental and private research with directly contradictory findings. The survey was conducted by sixteen professors at fifteen universities under the direction of Professor James W. Wiggins and Professor Helmut Schoeck of the Emory University Department of Sociology and Anthropology in Atlanta. A sampling of the elderly were interviewed and projections were developed. Without going into the auspices of the survey, it is interesting to consider these tardily revealed facts about the project. Nine of the sixteen sociologists who participated in the mechanics of carrying it out, but not in the inferences and conclusions drawn from it, have now repudiated it. Furthermore, the co-organizer of the meeting at which the survey was originally presented, Dr. Leonard Z. Breen, Professor of Sociology at Purdue University, states, according to the *N.Y. Times,* that the survey was "totally discredited" in the discussion following its presentation.

Why? Because, say the sociologists, it was based on a biased sample, not a true cross-section. The survey neglected to interview the very groups most relevant to the proposed legislation. Thus, Negroes were excluded, though they make up a high proportion of the low-income population, and institutionalized elderly people also were not included in the survey. What's more, in the questioning on medical insurance, there was no indication that one method of meeting the problem would be through the Social Security system. Also, the professional sociologists were critical of the fact that those interviewed represented a quota from each section rather than an area sample, considered by researchers to be the more valid method. Of course the timing of the survey's announcement, coinciding as it did with the Senate debate, and the fact that its results contradicted the bulk of evidence of previous inquiries on the subject provoked immediate and profound skepticism in all interested quarters—except the A.M.A. The A.M.A.'s performance in this instance suggests once again the large extent to which this is a com-

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mercial trade association, fronting for professionals who really operate as small businessmen, paid on a piecework basis.

Medicine of course hasn't been alone among the professions finding itself in a world it never made, "the business world." The business of America remains business no less today than when Calvin Coolidge uttered his dispiriting aphorism, even though the government has since edged into the act. The proper criterion of success in business is still profit. By easy association of ideas, it has also become the criterion of success throughout much of American professional life, accepted uncritically because of our defensive, occasionally hysterical deification of the profit system. Certainly the law, pedagogy, literature, even the ministry, in varying degrees share medicine's weakness on this score.

THE ESSENCE of professional conduct is incorruptible, unwavering, rigorous disinterest, on the one hand, and a positive sense of public responsibility on the other. A welcome, since rare, reaffirmation of this ideal was made recently by a group of our most distinguished scientists. Reference is to the report on Science and Human Welfare of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the chief representative body of America's scientists, with over 2,000,000 members. The point of departure for the report was the authors' concern, among other things, with evidence of science's integrity "beginning to erode under the abrasive pressure of its close partnership with economic, social, and political affairs." The report cited new-fangled problems ranging from fission bombs and population control to the dangers from new food additives, psycho-mimetic drugs and organic insecticides as involving science in policy matters affecting all citizens equally.

"It is our view," the committee of scientists stated, "that such problems are in essence social and political. We expect the choice among alternative solutions of these problems to be made through the normal, democratic processes of social and political decision-making, in which all citizens participate. In this respect the general issues that relate to scientific developments do not differ from other social and political questions." It then goes on to say: "With respect to the process of decision-making, the scientist's role is simply that of an informed citizen. . . . This role does not derive from the scientist's professional competence or obligations but only from his citizenship, and therefore, it bears no direct relationship to his professional organization. But in the matter of providing citizens with the knowledge required to make informed decisions on science-related issues, the scientist and his organizations have both a unique competence and a special responsibility. . . . In dealing with social issues, the scientific community must demonstrate its responsibility and its inherent regard for truth and objectivity and must zealously preserve the freedom of thought and communication that is essential to the pursuit of these goals."

If one reads "physician" for "scientist," "medicine" for "science," and "medical" for "scientific," these quotations take on an unfamiliar character. To the degree to which they clash with the trade association sentiments of organized medicine we have a hint of how far the A.M.A. has departed from professionalism's best character. And this has not a little to do with the prospect that next January the profession will again be confronted by a Congress, and possibly a President, disinclined to follow its advice.

THE STAGE

"WE ARE ALL MURDERERS"

IT IS THE gentleman's part to decline an easy valor at the expense of the dramatized arrangement of M. Pierre Boulle's "Face of a Hero." But they linger, these castrated fictions, as such hapless theatrical skirmishes in one's recollection of any season—statistics, not experience; well-meant exercises in a genteel parasitism—that I have come, in this ninth winter of my discontent, to consider the denunciation of their fresh recruits as an obligatory, though Sisyphean, labor. Sisyphean, for no one seems to heed me; some joker can always be found babbling about "The Spanish Tragedy," and I retire, wounded in my *amour-propre*. I must conclude, unhappily, that I am failing, as we say on The Avenue, to Project My Image. Here, as an instance, just when I have toiled sweatily, and again, to the summit of illumination, the Messrs. Lawrence and Lee, that Amos and Andy of the adaptation circuit, stand poised to loose on me the factual tonnage of Mr. Allen Drury's *Advise and Consent*. It is enough to drive a man to etc., and at "Face of a Hero" it did. As to *Advise and Consent,* now, I have a prophetic intuition: it will advise, that is, and I shall not consent. Yet, what to do? . . . dereliction of duty . . . do I dare to eat a peach . . . Ars longa, Hayes brevis. . . ?

Don't sell your son out for a critic, Mrs. Worthington!

So who is this M. Pierre Boulle, and what is he up to? One infers the presence of some new, as it were, Machiavelli of the Deux Magots, whose mentor is Conrad, and whose burden an acrid disenchantment with the roots of all idealism. If I am wrong M. Boulle, it is because, in truth, I have never been able to stay with one of his fictions. They parse, inevitably, accord-

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ing to the ideological grammar of what I call, in a private lexicon, the we-are-all-murderers school, and their central figures are all, as Mr. Jerry Tallmer most correctly and penetratingly observed in the *Village Voice,* quite, quite mad. Now some of one's best friends are mad, but they should not include Colonel Bogey-Bogey and the notorious cipher in "Face of a Hero."

Which is to say that the event comes finally into no significant reality, moral, dramatic or psychological, but only a kind of cat's cradle of specious and mathematical irony. It is played for such by Mr. Jack Lemmon, with a juiceless rigor which, allowing for the substitution of tropical fruits, recalled that legendary counsel of my youth: don't squeeza the banana, squeeza the coconut. And however deplorable the habit—bad plays, like evil communications, corrupt good manners —one moment's exchange must be preserved. At the height of a domestic encounter positively Oriental in its inscrutability, Mr. Lemmon confesses desperately to his wife: "All right! All right! Maybe I *have* no talent as a husband, but I DO treasure you!" Somewhere, in that ringing dialectic, one hears the plucked chord of togetherness. *(At the Eugene O'Neill.)*

RICHARD HAYES.

THE SCREEN

WRITING STRAIGHT WITH CROOKED LINES

IF INGMAR Bergman is going to turn up with a new film every year, there's no telling what surprises are in store for us. His 1960 entry is "The Virgin Spring." Following as it does the great "Wild Strawberries" and "The Magician," the Swedish director's new picture is all the more amazing because it is another first-rater; and while it is as different from its two predecessors as day from night, it still bears its maker's stamp and is definitely part of the series that add up to the Bergman whole. Less poetically dreamy and concerned with time-past in time-present than "Wild Strawberries," and less ambiguously puzzling in its symbols than "The Magician," "The Virgin Spring" is most closely related to "The Seventh Seal" and may indeed be the affirmative answer to that earlier film's questioning the existence of God.

Set in fourteenth-century Sweden by which time many of the Swedes had been converted to Christianity, Ulla Isaksson's dour screenplay is based on a Swedish legend from that period. It tells the story of a family: the stern, unsmiling father (Max von Sydow), the handsome mother (Birgitta Valberg), the lovely young daughter (Birgitta Pettersson), and her pregnant-though-unmarried stepsister (Gunnel Lindblom). One morning, the pretty, clear-skinned young girl, accompanied by her sullen and jealous stepsister, starts out for a distant church with candles for Our Lady. In a gloomy forest, the girls are separated; and the younger, after sharing her lunch with a couple of loutish herdsmen and their little brother, is brutally raped by the two men and murdered. Later the enraged father takes revenge by killing the herdsmen *and* the boy. He is at first embittered that God would allow the death of the innocent girl as well as his own violent revenge, but later, repentant, he asks forgiveness and vows to build a church where the girl's body was found. But when her body is lifted, a stream of water gushes forth on this very spot—the virgin spring.

Although most of Ingmar Bergman's films are concerned with man's relationships with God and with his fellow men, this is, I believe, the first one in which God takes an active part. The subject, including the miracle, is handled with reverence. The scenes showing the ravishing and murder of the girl and the later killing of the two herdsmen and the boy are done with extreme violence and realism; but realism is the keynote of Bergman's whole film—in its good acting, costumes, sets and the superb black-and-white photography that is artfully composed yet utterly simple. The shocking realism of the brutal sequences which indicate the worst in man's character adds to the credibility of the realistic finale showing the father's repentence and God's miracle.

Using fewer of his misleading clues than usual, Bergman probably allows some to creep into "The Virgin Spring" to indicate no one knows all the answers to man's behavior—or to man's search for answers. There won't always be a miracle to prove the existence of God; some things must be taken on faith. I doubt if "The Virgin Spring" will be as popular as the other Bergman films; it lacks the humor, warmth and fanciful flights of some of his other pictures. But it is another positive step forward in the Bergman repertory which is one long autobiography. And its viewers will be rewarded by its rich black-and-white tapestry.

THERE ARE several other new imports on our screens but they pale into insignificance when a new Bergman is around. From Italy has come "Violent Summer," a pretentious film that tries to be another "Devil in the Flesh" with its story of a love affair between a woman in her thirties and a young boy. But director Valerio Zurlini was more interested in displaying some sensational bedroom scenes than in pursuing the problems confronting the boy (Jean Louis Trintignant) and the widow (Eleonora Rossi-Drago). Furthermore the problems, heightened by the widow's strict family and the boy's Fascist father, are so artificial, and the principals viewed very superficially that not much audience sympathy is worked up for anyone in this long and shallow movie.

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FROM BRITAIN have come a couple of bundles that are definitely not run-of-the-mill. "Please Turn Over" is a giddy comedy about a family who live in an ordinary London suburb. After establishing this father, mother, daughter, aunt and maid in their playful and quarrelsome moods, the movie drops a bomb into their staid laps by having the daughter write a Peyton Place sort of novel that becomes a best seller. And when all the neighbors identify the characters as the family and their friends, the film visualizes the sexy, sordid, sinful novel and uses the family and their friends as the actors. Some of this is very funny. It could be funnier if the film didn't repeat its jokes to the point of boredom, but Ted Ray and Jean Kent as the father and mother, and June Jago and Joan Sims as the aunt and maid, and practically everyone else connected with this carry on as if they're having a hilarious time. And maybe the audience can if it doesn't expect too much.

FOR ADULTS who like science-fiction thrillers, "The Village of the Damned" is right up their alley. It tells a scary story about weird events in Midwich Village that start when all its inhabitants pass out for a couple of hours. Later everything seems normal except that many women of child-bearing age are pregnant. When the babies are born, they look unusually alike and are, in addition, extraordinarily healthy and bright. As the years pass, however, they are abnormally bright; at the age of nine, they are not only intellectual geniuses but they are able to read each other's minds and the thoughts of grown-ups.

Much of this uncanny story is told from the point of view of a physicist, played with deadly seriousness by George Sanders. He has a right to be serious when he realizes these handsome, blond, bright-eyed youngsters are really demons who plan, with the help of similar colonies scattered around the globe, to take over the whole world. What Sanders, backed by the Government, plans to do proposes several very ticklish moral problems as well as some difficulties in maneuvering—since the children are always one step ahead of him. Based on John Wynham's novel, *The Midwich Cuckoos,* "The Village of the Damned" may be another example of escapism in the movies, but director Wolf Rilla has handled its eerie tale so well that it seems as real as the most realistic of gangster thrillers. It is not for children or faint-hearted adults.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

BOOKS

The Compatibility of American Pluralism and Catholicism

WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS. By John Courtney Murray, S. J. Sheed and Ward. $5.

By DANIEL J. CALLAHAN

IT WOULD not be too outlandish to say that, next to Senator Kennedy, the most controversial Catholic of the presidential campaign was Father John Courtney Murray, S.J. Neither *Life* magazine from one slant nor the P.O.A.U. clarion, *Church and State,* from another, could ignore him.

Over the years, Father Murray has of course, been taken by many to be the most important American figure in a great surge of liberal opinion in the Church. By others, he is thought to be an interesting but minority voice, more in need of being explained away than of being taken seriously. Whatever the final judgment of history, there can be no doubt that his theological work represents the most profound attempt yet made to establish the compatibility of American pluralism and Catholicism.

Unlike Senator Kennedy, however, Father Murray is probably for most Americans a mystery figure, more talked about than heard, more quoted than read. The reason for this is simple enough: most of his articles have appeared in little-known journals and even the diligent have trouble keeping up with his output. Although the essays collected in this fine book (and rewritten for it) are not those on which Father Murray's ultimate fame as a theologian will be based, they will do beautifully as an astoundingly late first book.

We are, nevertheless, given solid glimpses of the results of his earlier work which has appeared only in the pages of *Theological Studies.* Most notably, he brilliantly brings together very diverse intellectual gifts—theological, political, juridical—to show that the famous Papal condemnations of the separation of Church and State which appeared regularly in the second half of the nineteenth century simply do not apply to the American situation. "It was," he argued, "this thesis of the juridical omnipotence and omnicompetence of the state which was the central object of the Church's condemnation of the Jacobin development. . . . This thesis was utterly rejected by the founders of the American Republic."

It is, perhaps, Father Murray's competence as a political scientist which is most apparent in this collection. More unexpected still, this collection shows that those writers most decisive in shaping Father Murray's political theory are representatives of the American neo-conservative tradition. Beyond them, he traces his intellectual ancestry to St. Thomas Aquinas, whom he calls "The first Whig."

It is important to notice these conservative roots. Doubtless there is some sense in referring to Father Murray as a "liberal" Catholic—as

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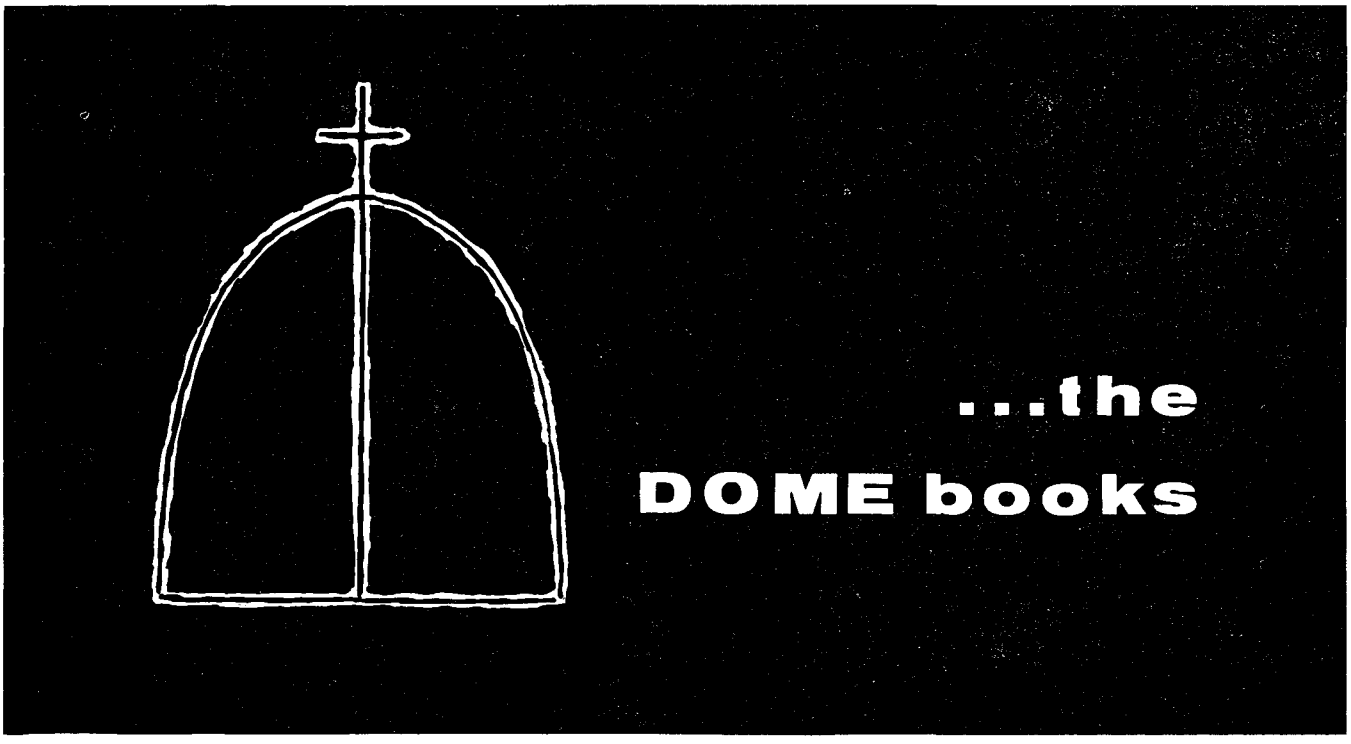
long as one keeps in mind that he vigorously rejects almost all of the philosophical premises of traditional liberalism.

Given these intellectual roots, it is not surprising that Father Murray should be scornful, even sarcastic, of the view that society can be sustained by a pragmatic or relativistic system of values. He states quite bluntly, for one thing, that, "the American proposition rests on the more traditional conviction that there are truths; they can be known; that they must be held; for if they are not held, assented to, consented to, worked into the texture of institutions, there can be no hope of founding a true City, in which men may dwell in dignity, peace, unity, justice, well-being, freedom." The first truth of the American proposition is the "sovereignty of God over nations" and not the Jacobin tradition which makes autonomous reason the first principle.

Yet in arguing that our public philosophy was first articulated in an era when the tradition of the natural law and a realist theory of truth still commanded men's minds and still provide the only possible rational basis for visible consensus, Father Murray is not calling for some kind of a natural law ideology. In matters of civil law the essential criterion of a good law is rationality. And in many cases it is simply not rational to attempt to write the natural law concerning private morality directly into civil law. The Connecticut birth control laws are a good instance of the folly of such attempts.

On the other hand, the first two articles of the First Amendment are a perfect instance of a good, rational law that does not reflect a sectarian position on religion or a secularist ideology of the state. "From the standpoint both of history and of contemporary social reality," he says, "the only tenable position is that the first two articles of the First Amendment are not articles of faith but articles of peace. Like the rest of the Constitution these provisions are the work of lawyers, not of theologians or even of political theorists."

I would not want to close this review leaving the impression that



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Father Murray's book is concerned solely with American political theory or the relation of Church and State. There is, in addition, a remarkably sane and valuable essay on Soviet imperialism and Communist ideology. At a time when most Catholics take quite the opposite position, Father Murray believes that the nature of Soviet power and purpose, "suggest the advisability of direct negotiations with Russia." Equally pertinent, he calls attention to the fact that, for all its concern about Communism, the Catholic community is little interested in foreign affairs, "beyond its contribution in sustaining the domestic mood of anti-Communism." Since there is some likelihood that the next great crisis of pluralism involving the Catholic may turn on the American response to Communism, these things need saying. Father Murray has made an important start.

The Modern Spirit

THE MARQUISE OF O. . . By Heinrich Von Kleist. Translated and with an introduction by Martin Greenberg. Preface by Thomas Mann. Criterion. $5.

By RICHARD GILMAN

"YOU must realize that my heart is sick," Kleist wrote some time before he committed suicide at the age of thirty-five, and Goethe, into whose middle period Kleist's entire life-span fitted, echoed the contemporary acceptance of that self-judgment when he declared that "with the best will in the world toward this poet, I have always been moved to horror and disgust by something in his works, as though here was a body well-planned by nature, tainted with an incurable disease."

It may be questioned whether the lofty sanity and humanism of Goethe was likely to have approached with good will this writing which was marked, as Thomas Mann says, by "an extreme, frightening vehemence," a savage headlong thrusting against absolutes and a radical interrogation of society in the manner of Dostoievsky's Underground Man. In its violence, ambiguity, painfulness and unrest, Kleist's work is really part of the tradition of disinheritance whose main body appears much further along in the nineteenth century.

Kleist was neglected for many years after his death, even in Germany, although by now his reputation there, as a playwright and a prose stylist, master of a hard, concise, rapid and unliterary German, is quite secure. One or two of his stories have appeared from time to time in English, and his remarkable essay, "On the Puppet Theater," was published in the *Partisan Review* ten or fifteen years ago. But as Martin Greenberg remarks in his fine, lucid, enthusiastic introduction, Kleist has remained for us "one of those obscure classic writers whom nobody reads or seems to know much about outside his own country."

Greenberg has translated all of Kleist's stories (he wrote eight plays and a novel which has never been found) into what he calls "natural modern English," a procedure that is especially valuable in Kleist's case since his originality can easily be obscured by a misguided attempt to capture period flavor or by too great fidelity to the literary conventions he employed.

There are eight stories here, ranging in length from "The Beggar-woman of Locarno," which is less than three pages, to the celebrated "Michael Kohlhaas," almost a novella in size and scope. But Kleist's special qualities, as well as his minor deficiencies, are evident in all of them: his breakneck pace, which sometimes results in an enormous compression and sometimes in the overleaping of ordinary narrative connections; his power as a dramatist; his taste for the *outré* and the perverse; and his occasional recourse to clumsy devices of coincidence or mystification to advance or wind up his plots.

Most of the stories are set in earlier historical epochs and possess, as a secondary virtue, a subtle sense of cultural change, one condition of the spirit giving way to another. But in every case what is foremost in Kleist's art is its attempt to come to grips with the irrational in human life, to undermine the structures which we erect to keep us from knowledge of the irrational, and to open up avenues to an instinctual life of greater freedom and spontaneity than we have allowed ourselves to possess.

In the title story, "The Marquise of O. . . ." a woman is shocked into a recognition of her ambivalent inner life, *outraged,* it might be said, into actuality; the split between abstract virtue and the realities of feeling is healed by an unrelenting psychological and aesthetic pressure that forces them together. Something similar happens in "The Duel," where Kleist's heroine insists on an innocence she does not fully possess, and in which guilt and innocence are seen as resistant to rational formulation.

"Michael Kohlhaas" is the chronicle of a good man, "one of the most upright and at the same time one of the most terrible men of his day," whose sense of justice, "as delicate as a gold balance," turns him into "a brigand and a murderer." Kohlhaas, a horse dealer, is subjected to arbitrary mistreatment at the hands of a feudal lord and sets out to obtain justice for himself through force. From then on law and society are seen as increasingly ambiguous and indifferent to the claims of truth, and justice becomes an always more elusive goal. The reader is filled, as Greenberg says, with feelings of anxious dread," because he has been made to know the imperfect state of the world, and to see the subversion of its "solid, rational, customary foundations."

There is a notable parallel to Kafka here, especially of course to *The Castle,* and Greenberg vigorously pursues the relationship. He reminds us that Kafka felt a temperamental affinity with Kleist, as well as admiring his work to the point of frequently reading "Kohlhaas" to his friends and once giving a public reading from it in Prague. But more than this, Greenberg sets Kleist in the same liter-

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ary tradition as Kafka:

"Kleist's fiction is part of the revolution of modern times; it is an effort to uncover—and recover—the knowledge of what we really feel . . . Buchner, Stendhal, Nietzsche, Freud, Lawrence, Kafka—he is one of that company, a hero of the modern spirit."

As such, it certainly seems time for us to make his acquaintance.

Liturgical Change

BRINGING THE MASS TO THE PEOPLE. By H. A. Reinhold. Introduction by Frederick R. McManus, J.C.D. Helicon. $2.95.

By JAMES F. KITTLESON

THIS IS a small book. Into it Father Reinhold has distilled a lifetime of liturgical scholarship and a wealth of pastoral experience. He brings to his book the readable style and keen incisiveness his readers have grown to expect. His subject is worship. His particular concern, the Mass.

Liturgical change has been so rapid in the past ten years that there remains confusion in the minds of Catholics as to what is going on. Evening Mass, mitigation of Eucharistic fast, the restoration of Holy Week and the directives on active participation embody, within a short space of time, the most significant developments in the Church's worship in four hundred years. Reform and restoration are not yet finished. Father Reinhold's book (with an excellent introduction by Father McManus) presents the history, principles and form of this liturgical development in the context of future changes.

Background is essential to understand liturigcal change. The effects of tradition, scholarship and the needs of the modern parish have all contributed to the present state of the liturgy. International congresses of liturgical scholars and pastoral leaders, such as those at Lugano and Assisi, were convened to pool knowledge and present suggested changes to the Holy See. Some of these suggestions have been accepted and are today in force. The work of restoration still continues and more sweeping changes are looked for.

After giving this background Father Reinhold discusses the Mass in detail, giving the reader a complete picture of the most important changes envisioned. The great impetus for change has been pastoral—to bring about a revitalization of the liturgical life of the parish. This involves a careful adherence to tradition, a certain boldness in reform and a thorough knowledge of what the Roman Rite is meant to accomplish.

Two areas of the Mass which have come down through the centuries in most need of reform and restoration are the Offertory (here a shift of emphasis has occurred making of it a sort of "little" Canon) and the Communion (which has acquired a number of rituals within it that leave it unbalanced).

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and other problems in detail, Father Reinhold presents a "sample" Mass embodying the most advanced changes suggested by liturgical leaders. The text is presented in complete form. To read it is to understand what liturgical change means and where it may take us.

Not all, perhaps not even most of the changes discussed here will be incorporated into the liturgy of the Mass. But in his "sample" Mass Father Reinhold accomplishes something immediately important — regardless of how future change materializes. He has been able to present the Mass in a manner more telling than all the scholarship he cites. Here the reader is able to see the clear lines which our worship follows in its present form, but shorn of the unessential accretions of centuries. In this "sample" Mass the meaning, impact and tremendous beauty of the *Great Prayer* take shape before our eyes with the shock almost of a first encounter. This alone is a unique and important contribution to the liturgical apostolate.

The Creative Act

THE MEANING OF FICTION. By Albert Cook. Wayne University Press. $5.

By ANNE FREMANTLE

MR. COOK prefaces his book with an explanation of his intention in writing it. All the critics who have written about the novel, he asserts, have assumed that the content in each case pointed to form. But "I could not for myself make their criterion of form stretch to include the meaning the novel carried. . . What do you do with a novel skillful in point of view, impeccable in style, coherent in presentation, but devoid of human insight?" His own book attempts to answer that question.

Charles Kingsley once wrote a question: "What, then, does Dr. Newman mean?" and Dr. Cook pursues "meaning" in various authors, from Cervantes, to Proust. "The protean character of the interior life,

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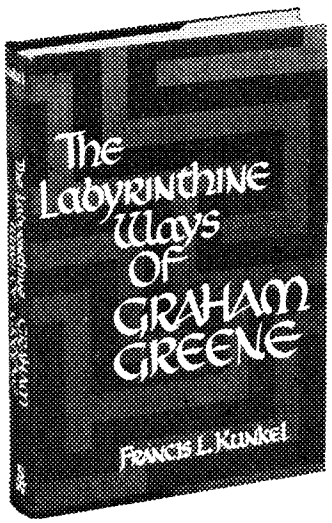

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the complexity of detail in social commitments, become bodied forth for us when we read an authentic novel," Dr. Cook says, using alas ! the pompous and inexact jargon of the social sciences. For what, in anyone's name, is an *un*-authentic novel? A plagiarized one?

Yet Mr. Cook's quest is a valid one, and if only he had even a rudimentary (or vestigial) sense of humor, this would be an interesting book. But what is the reader to do when solemnly faced with such statements as: "Poetry, like philosophy, orders the world mainly by analogical identification, into an order ideally both concrete and abstract"? Or: "The Jamesian representation of interdependence"? Or "the drama is a performance of reenactment"?

When not floundering in the tautological meshes of his vocabulary, Mr. Cook has some admirable insights. For example, in his chapter on "Plot as Discovery: Conrad, Dostoevsky, and Faulkner," he shows how the plot discovers the subtle center of the secret lives of all the characters. Conrad's theme is "man braving in his mortality the heart of darkness," while in Dostoevsky all the characters oscillate "between the Sodom of their own worst nature and the light of their best."

The "mysterious and expansive freedom of Dostoevsky's plots echoes that of his characters. With Faulkner, what binds the characters is not the sort of theological coinherence found in Dostoevsky's plots . . . they are bound in a plot of history".

Though perhaps "causality" would be a better word, the distinction is a good one and well-made, as is Mr. Cook's discussion of Proust's plotlessness "a pure process of life in time." And the "never-mentioned undertone" that validates all Proust's ideas, is, Mr. Cook claims "the eternity that transcends them, just as it is eternity that endows with all its urgency the transitoriness of love."

But, oh dear, surely Proust's *meaning* is not that "the only reality left is that of the amorous relationships which have caused the aristocracy so to permute"? For every

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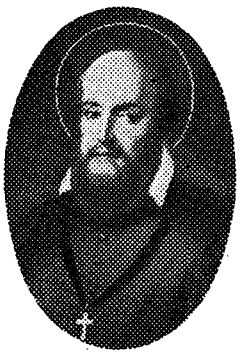

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novelist, the greatest problem is to make anything (or everything) significant. We stand, as Rilke said, night and day beside a great waterfall, that drowns out everything we say, even our voices. Proust was able, by his supreme genius, to set everything of which he wrote, the animate and the inanimate, cakes and tunes, dukes and whores, in the climate of wonder, which is the only reflection in literature of the light of glory. This cannot be arrived at by an act of will: Thackeray meant Amelia Smedley to be the heroine of *Vanity Fair,* but Becky Sharp mocked all his plans; of all his heroines, it is only with Tolstoy's Natasha in *War and Peace* that all succeeding generations have fallen in love.

Only by approximating as nearly as possible to the act of creation can the author, who is only a maker, set his characters on stilts above time. For the creative act is the act of setting free, of giving freedom, whether to the universe or to one man. D. H. Lawrence, for example, never could set his characters free—he weighted them with his own class complexes. Tolstoy, in his later works, hung his moral theories like dead albatrosses around the necks of his characters, while at their best and greatest, Conrad, James, Dostoevsky, Faulkner and Proust set their characters absolutely free.

Dr. Cook has written an exasperating book, but at least it riles the reader into thought.

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By MAX COSMAN

TOWARDS the end of this novel which, incidentally, makes the fifth in the sequence now well known as *The Music of Time,* we find a pair of characters discoursing on various matters, a practice, it would seem, in which everyone else in the book indulges.

"I find all novels lacking in probability," says Maclintick the music critic.

"Probability is the bane of the age," agrees Moreland the composer, and, warmed up, amplifies his thought so: "Every Tom, Dick, and Harry thinks he knows what is probable. The fact is most people have not the smallest idea of what is going on round them. Their conclusions about life are based on utterly irrelevant—and equally inaccurate—premises."

Certainly there are several cases in point as Mr. Powell has others in addition to the speakers pass through their odds and ends of living. Thus the old novelist St. John Clarke, subject to some confused loyalty, leaves his fortune to Lord Warminster, perhaps the one man he knows to be least in need of it. Warminster himself, aristocratic idealist rather than fritterer, connoisseur, Fascist, or weakling like many of his class, goes to Spain—our volume deals with the period that saw not only the abdication of Edward VIII but the grim Spanish Civil War—and returns a sicker, if not wiser, person.

It appears, political innocent that he is, that he treated organizations like POUM, FAI, CNT, and UGT as if they were only left-wing organizations of the Labor Party, a mistake that came close to bringing about his arrest and execution.

Similar inconsequences and incongruities condition the more important figures in the book. Maclintick already mentioned, half in love with easeful death because of a

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complex of professional and personal limitations, actually does away with himself when his wife, incompatible though she is, walks out on him. Moreland, shaken by the event, comes to his senses in time, and, ending his liaison with unsuitable Priscilla, renews his difficult but still desirable marriage.

Indeed, if coming of age and high life are the operative concerns respectively of earlier members of the series like *A Question of Upbringing* and *At Lady Molly's,* then marriage is the primary theme of *Casanova's Chinese Restaurant.* And, of course, there are pairings, which are unabashedly without benefit of sacrament.

As we expect of them, even in matters other than marriage Mr. Powell's masque-like *dramatis personae* are a poor lot. In the tradition of his master, John Aubrey, he catches up their gossip and gaddings about, their recriminations and ruefulness. In consonance, however, with his own age of anxiety, he also notes most tragically their moving, as on a Ghost Railway at some fun fair or seaside pier, past gradients, depths, blind corners, and iron-studded doors to where a dread shape lies across the line.

Still ironic, but melancholy and flat-toned as never before, Mr. Powell, it grows clear, no longer finds his chosen group either fascinating or, for all their fumblings with the arts, functional. Can it be that his statement, by way of alter ego Jenkins ("In the end most things in life—perhaps all things—turn out to be appropriate.") is the beginning of that hail and farewell to a class in decline which a historian of society like him must so inevitably utter?

REVIEWERS

Daniel Callahan, a regular contributor, is a member of the faculty of Harvard University.

Richard Gilman has written for *Horizon, Commentary,* the *Chicago Review* and other journals.

Father Kittleson is a parish priest in Geyser, Montana.

Anne Fremantle is well-known as a novelist, critic, anthologist and lecturer.

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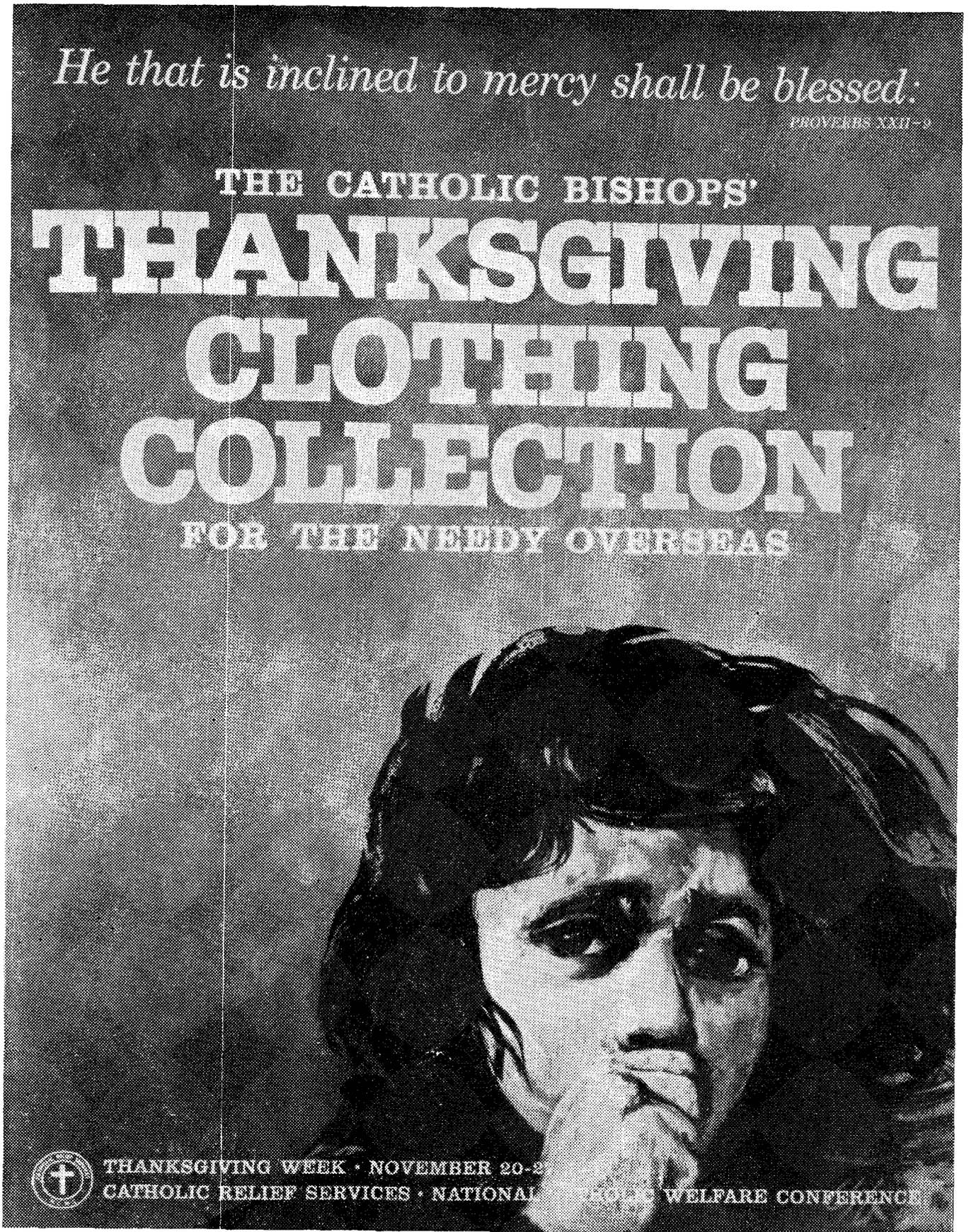

Poster to be displayed in more than 16,500 Catholic churches and schools of the United States, asking for wearable used clothing, shoes, blankets, and bedding supplies for the needy and destitute overseas.

The nearest Catholic church will gladly accept your contributions which, in turn, will be promptly shipped for distribution among the world's needy of all races and creeds. The relief materials and supplies will be sent to exiles of the Far East, Near East, the anguished and destitute in Southern Europe, Africa, South America and many other foreign lands, and to refugees who wait in barren camps for the opportunity to start life anew in another land.

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